

STUDIES IN GREEK EPIGRAPHY  
AND HISTORY IN HONOR  
OF STEPHEN V. TRACY



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STUDIES IN GREEK EPIGRAPHY  
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OF STEPHEN V. TRACY

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Statue Base for Marcus Aurelius, Theater of Dionysos, Athens (IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 3410).

## CHAPTER 28

### PROXENY AND CITIZENSHIP AWARDS BY SYBRITOS, CRETE

Yannis Z. TZIFOPOULOS

It is an exceptional honor to present this contribution as a small token of appreciation and everlasting gratitude to Stephen V. Tracy, teacher, advisor, scholar, and mentor in my ‘telemachian’ years at the Ohio State University as a graduate student.

In 1997 the Papyrology and Epigraphy Workshop (ErPE) of the Department of Philology of the University of Crete, in close collaboration with the 25<sup>th</sup> Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, began an epigraphical survey of the Rethymno Prefecture, which has led to the creation of the Archive of Inscriptions<sup>1</sup>. The results of this project have been quite rewarding, and the epigraphical dossier of the Cretan city of Sybritos, from which ten inscriptions are presented here, is a case in point<sup>2</sup>.

An ancient city ca. 35 km SE of Rethymno, Sybritos commanded the Amari valley, a territory within which the modern villages of Agia Fotini, Genna, Thronos, Kalogirou, Amari, Monastiraki, Agia Elessa, and Meronas are located. At various chronological periods, this territory may have also included the Patsos Cave in which the sanctuary of Hermes Kranaios was located, the Notiki Cave in Nithauris, and

1. I am indebted to Maria Andreadaki-Vlazaki, in charge of the 25th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, and the archaeologists Irene Gavrilaki, Nota Karamaliki, and Eva Tegou for their collaboration in the project; to Niki Spanou and Stavroula Oikonomou, for their important and effective help in our searches in Sybritos; and to the staff in the Rethymno Museum for facilitating work for this project. For their perceptive comments and criticisms I am grateful to Angelos Chaniotis, Martha W. Baldwin Bowsky, and Stavros Frangoulidis.

2. For details on this project see Tzifopoulos 2006a and for preliminary results Tzifopoulos 1999, 2004, 2006b, 2006c, 2007 and forthcoming, and Tzifopoulos and Karamaliki forthcoming.

Apodoulou<sup>3</sup>. At least in the Imperial period, a road passed through the Amari valley and connected the capital Gortyn – south-southeast of Sybritos – with the northern and western cities, and the Diktynnion on the Spatha promontory via Eleutherna (see fig. 1 Barrington Atlas, pl. 60, Western Crete)<sup>4</sup>.

Sybritos' epigraphical dossier, published by Margherita Guarducci in 1939 (IC, II, xxvi), comprised 30 inscriptions, of which thirteen have been located so far. The majority of them (24) are funerary plaques (IC, II, xxvi, 4-26, 29). The remaining six include the *asylia*-treaty with Teos, inscribed on the wall of Dionysos' sanctuary at Teos (IC, II, xxvi, 1)<sup>5</sup>; a bomiskos to Theos Hypsistos (IC, II, xxvi, 3); a stamped amphora handle (IC, II, xxvi, 30); probably a public text (IC, II, xxvi, 2); and two fragmentary

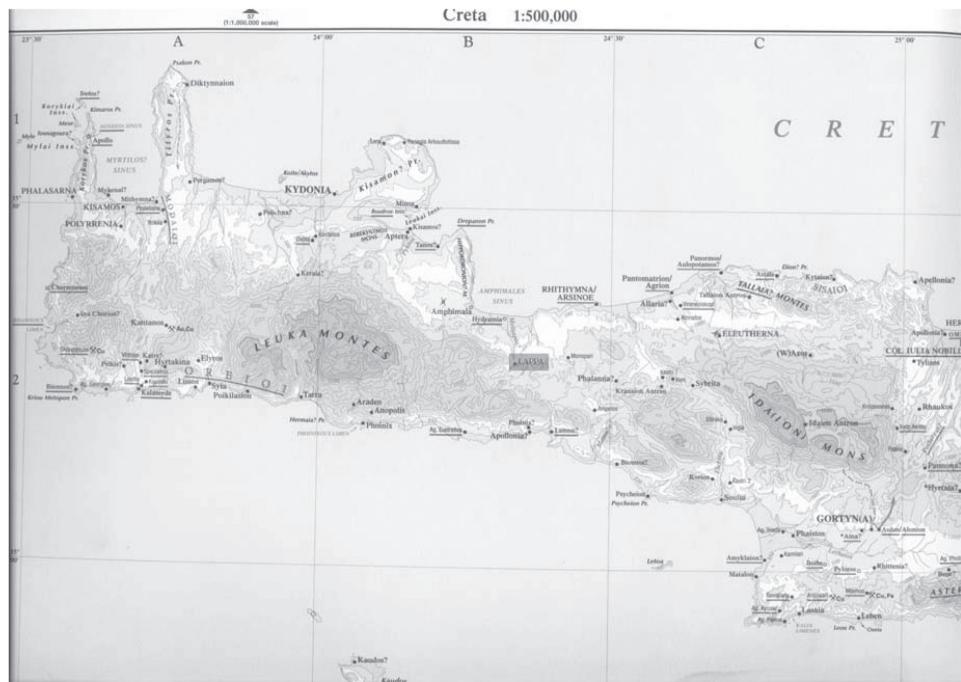


Fig. 1. *Barrington Atlas*, Western Crete (Talbert 2000, pl. 60).

3. For Sybritos and environs see Karamaliki forthcoming; Perlman 2004a; Sporn 2002, 247-252, 334; Faraklas et al. 1998, 75-76; and Rocchetti 1994.

4. For evidence of this road see Tzifopoulos 2004 and 2006c; Baldwin Bowsky 2001, 2006 and forthcoming.

5. For these *asylia*-decrees see Kvist 2003 with extensive previous bibliography; and for *asylia*-decrees in general Rigsby 1996.

inscriptions (IC, II, xxvi, 27-28). After 1939 Georges Le Rider offered a preliminary publication of eight proxeny and citizenship awards, which will be presented shortly. During the epigraphical survey and the excavations conducted by the Ephoreia, twelve more texts have been located and discovered, of which Martha W. Baldwin Bowsky has published the building inscription of a sanctuary of Hermes, dated to Domitian's time<sup>6</sup>.

The honorary texts awarding individuals with *proxenia* and *politeia* are inscribed on nine metopes, some with triglyphs, which formed part of a Doric epistyle of local limestone. Yannis Tzedakis, then in charge of the Ephoreia, recovered them in 1954 during construction work for a road in the village of Thronos (Rethymno Museum E102α-ζ, figs 2-8). The metopes and triglyphs do not join and their original arrangement cannot be determined, as some are intact and others are broken. The proxeny and citizenship awards are inscribed on the surface of all metopes except one (no. 9 below), while two metopes carry two honorary awards one below the other (nos 1-2 and 3-4 below). Since the letter-strokes of no. 6 preserve traces of *miltos* (red ochre), it is not unlikely that the letter-strokes of all the decrees were similarly painted. The dates are approximate as they are based on each text's lettering which indicates the late third and second centuries BC (Le Rider 1966, whom the editors of LGPN follow, dates the eight texts to III-II centuries)<sup>7</sup>.

1-2 Rethymno Museum E102β, fig. 2. A metope with complete triglyphs on each side is preserved intact with minor damage on the surface and on the upper right. The upper side bears a hole in the middle, the bottom anathyrosis<sup>8</sup>, and the right side is roughly finished. Two texts are inscribed by different cutters and at different times, but how much time intervened between decree no. 1 and no. 2 cannot be determined.

Bibliography: Le Rider 1966, 258, 1re métope, pl. 48, 1.

H.0.405 (inscribed surface 0.335), W.0.855 (inscribed surface 0.325), Th.0.20

1 LH.0.0180.025. The letters are carefully engraved and the strokes end in apices; characteristic letter shapes are (Chaniotis 1996, 452-459): B, E, N, Π, P, Σ, T, and Ω.

6. Baldwin Bowsky 2001 (SEG, 51, 1180). For the new texts see Tzifopoulos forthcoming, and Tzifopoulos and Karamaliki forthcoming.

7. Le Rider 1966, 258-259, pl. 48 (BE, 1968, 425; the publication escaped SEG); see also *Kretika Chronika* 7 (1953) 490; *BCH* 78 (1954) 156.

8. LSJ s.v. ἀνθυπόω, "dress vertical joints of masonry so that only their edges are in contact" (IG, VII, 3073, coll. II lines 121 and 142).

Late III-II century BC

Φιλων Σωτάδα  
Γορτύνιος, πρό-  
3 ξενος Συβριτί-  
ων, αὐτὸς καὶν  
ἔκγονοι.

Line 1: of the iota only the bottom part of a vertical. Le Rider 1966, Φιλων.

Line 4: the engraver left two spaces vacant so as to avoid division of the last word.

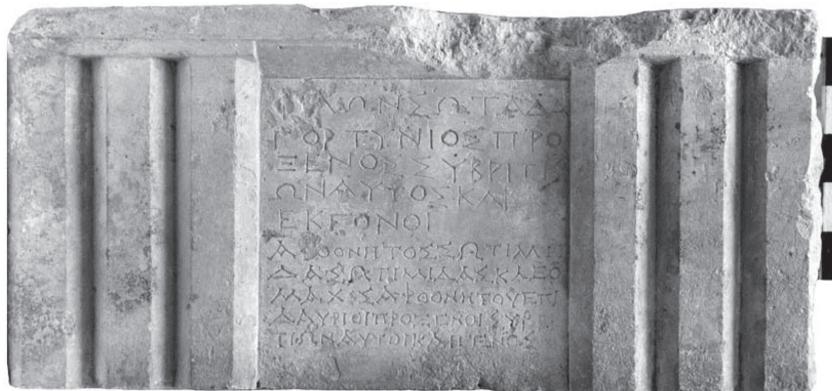


Fig. 2. Proxeny awards 1-2.

2 LH.0.009-0.022. The letters are carefully engraved and the strokes curve to end in triangular apices; characteristic letter shapes are (Chaniotis 1996, 452-459): A, Δ, E, M, Π, Σ, and Ω.

Late III-II centuries BC

Ἄφθονητος Σωτιμί-  
δα, Σωτιμίδας, Κλεό-  
3 μαχος Ἀφθονήτου, Ἐπι-  
δαύριοι, πρόξ<ε>νοι Συβρι-  
τίων, αὐτοι και γένος.

Line 4: by mistake the cutter left out the middle stroke of the epsilon. Le Rider 1966, πρόξενοι.

3-4 Rethymno Museum E102ε, fig. 3. A metope with complete triglyphs on each side is preserved intact with minor damage on the surface and on the upper right. As in no. 1-2, two texts are inscribed by different cutters and at different times.

Bibliography: Le Rider 1966, 259, 4e métope, pl. 48, 4.

H.0.405 (inscribed surface 0.333), W.0.86 (inscribed surface 0.33), Th.0.19.

3 LH.0.01-0.02. The letters are carefully engraved and the strokes curve to end in apices; from line 4 to the end the letters become smaller and crowded, either because of miscalculation by the cutter, or because of the room the cutter had to leave vacant for another decree; characteristic letter shapes are (Chaniotis 1996, 452-459): Α, Β, Ε, Μ, Π, Σ, and Ω.

II century BC

	Μελέαγρος Ἀρτε-
	μιδώρου Ἀλα-
3	βανδεύς, ἡγε-
	μών, πρόξενος
	καὶ πολίτης Συβρι-
6	τίων, αὐτὸς καὶ ἔκγο-
	νοι.



Fig. 3 Proxeny awards 3-4.

Line 3: the vacant space is due to the word division, as only one or two letters could fit.

4 LH.0.011-0.04. The letters, whose strokes end in triangular or horizontal apices, are not engraved symmetrically, despite the use of guidelines, visible especially in lines 1 and 4, which the cutter does not follow consistently; characteristic letter shapes are (Chaniotis 1996, 452-459): A, E, Π, P, Σ, Y, and Ω.  
II century BC

3                  Ποσειδαῖος Διφί-  
                    λου, Διόδοτος Δι-  
                    οσκουρτίδου, Μι-<sup>v</sup>  
                    πυληναῖοι, πρόξε-  
                    νοι, αὐτοὶ καὶ ἔ[κ]γονοι.

Line 3: the vacant space is due to the word division, as only one letter could fit.

Lines 3-4: Μιτυληναῖοι is the frequently corrupted form of Μυτιληναῖοι, according to LSJ s.v.

Line 5: of the gamma the extreme right of the horizontal. Le Rider 1966, ἔ[κγ]ονοι.

5-6 Rethymno Museum E102ζ, fig. 4. A metope, a triglyph, and the left part of another metope are preserved intact with the right part broken. The upper side bears anathyrosis, the left is broken at the upper and middle part, and the bottom side bears marks of later work. Small pieces have been broken off here and there.

Bibliography: Le Rider 1966, 259, 5e métope, pl. 48, 5.  
H.0.40, W.0.655, Th.0.175

5 Inscribed surface H.0.33, W.0.315, LH.0.015-0.035. The letters are carefully engraved and the strokes end in triangular or horizontal apices; characteristic letter shapes are (Chaniotis 1996, 452-459): A, B, E, K, Ξ, Π, P, Σ, Y, Ω.  
II century BC

3                  [Ι]εροκλῆς<sup>vvvvv</sup>  
                    <sup>v</sup>Μενοίτου τοῦ  
                    <sup>v</sup> Ἰατροκλέους  
                    <sup>v</sup> Στρατονικεύς,  
                    <sup>v</sup> ἡγεμών, πρό-  
                    <sup>v</sup> ξενος Συβρι-  
6                  ντίων καὶ πολίτης,  
                    αὐτὸς καὶ ἔκγονοι.



Fig. 4. Proxeny awards 5-6.

Lines 1-7: the vacant spaces are probably due to the cutter's miscalculation, except at the end of line 1, where the name is inscribed.

Line 7: of the lambda the left slanting stroke. Le Rider 1966, πο[λ]ίτης.

**6** Inscribed surface H.0.33, W.0.072, LH.0.02-0.029. The letters are carefully engraved and the strokes, some with traces of *miltos* (red ochre), end in triangular or horizontal apices; characteristic letter shapes are (Chaniotis 1996, 452-459): A, K, N, P and Σ.

II century BCE

3	'Αρ[ιστέας Με]- νάν[δρου Στρατο]- νικ[εύς, πρόξε]- νος [καὶ πολίτης] Συ[βριτίων, αὐ]- τὸ[ς καὶ ἔκγονοι].
6	

Line 1: after rho there is a trace of a lower left part of a slanting stroke and a faint trace of the left part of the apex of an upper slanting or horizontal stroke; it could be a sigma, chi, or even tau. Le Rider restored lines 1-3: 'Αρ[ιστέας Με] | νάν[δρου Στρατο] | νικ[εύς κτλ.], according to Louis Robert's suggestion that Aristaeas and Menandros are common names in Stratonikeia.

The restorations in lines 2-5 are almost certain and suggest 11-13 letters per line; thus, in line 1 the name to be restored, beginning with Ἀρσ-, Ἀρχ, or Ἀρτ-, should be between 9 and 11 letters. A search in LGPN ([http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/online/search\\_data.html](http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/online/search_data.html)) has yielded a great number of names that could be restored, but in the epigraphical dossier of Stratonikeia there are no names with the prefix Ἀρσ-, and only a few with the prefix Ἀρχ: Ἀρχέας, Ἀρχαγάθων, Ἀρχέδαμος (Ἀρχέδημος), Ἀρχιερατικός, and the prefix Ἀρτ: Ἀρταος, Ἀρτεμᾶς, Ἀρτέμης, Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Ἀρτεμίσιος, Ἀρτέμιον, Ἀρτιμῆς.

Line 3: NAK or ΝΔΚ originally on the stone, corrected by the cutter to NIK; the erased strokes of alpha or delta, not as deep as the other ones, are clearly visible.

Line 5: of the upsilon the lower part of the vertical. Le Rider Συ[βριτίων αὐ] | τὸ[ς καὶ ἔκγονοι/ἔκγονα/γένος].

7 Rethymno Museum E102δ, fig. 5. One channel of a triglyph and a metope preserved intact, except the left side. The anathyrosis at the bottom is not continuous, but at the right end its finishing is visible. Small pieces have been broken off here and there.

Bibliography: Le Rider 1966, 258 3e métope, pl. 48, 3.

H.0.40 (inscribed surface 0.33), W.0.435 (inscribed surface 0.33), Th.0.175, LH.0.012-0.03 (guidelines H.0.028-0.035). The lettering is careful and the strokes end in horizontal or triangular apices; characteristic letter shapes are (Chaniotis 1996, 452-459): A, B, E, K, M, N, P, Σ and Ω.

II century BCE

- 3      Ἀγαθόδωρος  
Στρατωνος<sup>v</sup>
- 3      Σιδώνιος<sup>vvv</sup>  
ρωμαιίστης,<sup>vv</sup>  
πρόξενος<sup>vvv</sup>
- 6      Συβριτίων, αὐτὸς  
καὶ ἔκγονοι.



Fig. 5. Proxeny award 7.

Lines 2-5: the vacant spaces are probably due to the cutter's reluctance to divide the words.

Line 6: of the nu the upper part of the slanting stroke. Le Rider 1966, Συβριτίων].

**8** Rethymno Museum E102γ, fig. 6. A metope with two channels of a triglyph are preserved intact, except the right side. Small pieces have been broken off here and there.

Bibliography: Le Rider 1966, 258 2e métope, pl. 48, 2.

H.0.40 (inscribed surface 0.335), W.0.53 (inscribed surface 0.350), Th.0.195, LH.0.025-0.035. The lettering

is careful and the strokes end in horizontal or triangular apices; characteristic letter shapes are (Chaniotis 1996, 452-459):

A, B, E, K, M, N, P, Σ and Ω.

II century BC

Πτολεμαῖος

νΔημητρίου

3      Ἀργεῖος, κωμωι-

νδὸς, πρόξενος

Συβριτίων, αὐτὸς

6      νκαὶ ἔκγονοι.

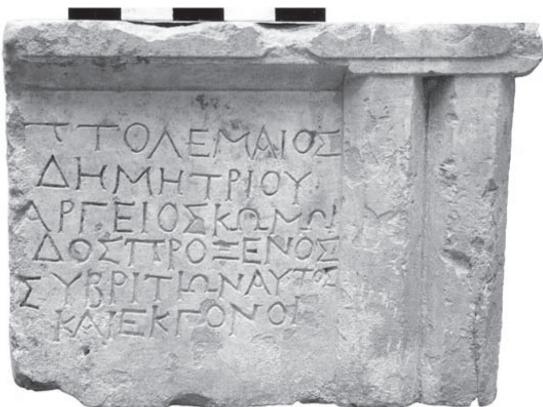


Fig. 6. Proxeny award 8.

Line 2: the cutter indents by one vacant space so as to center the line.

Lines 3-4: Le Rider 1966, κωμωδός.

Line 4: indentation by one letter space is probably a miscalculation.

Line 6: the cutter indents by one vacant space so as to center the line.

**9** Rethymno Museum E102στ, fig. 7. Two metopes, a triglyph, and the channel of a second one are preserved intact, except the right side. The upper side bears anathyrosis, is broken at the upper right corner, and bears a hole 0.015 in diameter. Small pieces have been broken off here and there. The left metope is not inscribed, and on the right there is only one letter, perhaps as a test for the layout and engraving of a text.

H.0.404 (inscribed surface 0.33), W.0.99 (inscribed surface 0.33), Th.0.175,  
LH.0.027.

II century BC

M.



Fig. 7. Proxeny award 9.

**10** Rethymno Museum E102α, fig. 8. The bottom side, the extreme right end of a metope and a triglyph are preserved intact. Small pieces have been broken off here and there, and the inscribed surface is damaged.

H.0.385 (inscribed surface 0.33),  
W.0.34 (inscribed surface 0.08),

Th.0.16, LH.0.02.

III-II centuries BC

- 3 [ - ca. 10 - ]
- 3 [ - ca. 8 - ] OΣ
- 3 [ - ca. 8-9 - ] Σ
- 3 [ - ca. 8 - ] E
- 3 [ - ca. 8 - ] Λ
- 6 [ - ca. 8 - ] .O
- 6 [ - ca. 10 - ? ]

Line 2: the right part of a circular letter.



Fig. 8. Proxeny award 10.

Line 4: of the epsilon the right part of the upper and lower horizontals and a trace of the middle one.

Line 5: part of a right slanting stroke that could be a lambda or upsilon.

Line 6: the right part of an upper horizontal, and a trace of a circular letter.

## COMMENTARY

These honorary awards of *proxenia*, seven complete and three fragmentary, present an interesting case for the ways in which the political system worked in Sybritos during the late third and second centuries BC. The texts are composed in the shortest form possible, a form which such texts gradually developed in the later Hellenistic period. As at Aptera, Gortyn and Lappa<sup>9</sup>, for example, they comprise the following elements: *name*, *patronym*, *ethnic*, (*title or occupation*) of the honorand, and the awarding formula *proxenos (and citizen) of the Sybritians, himself and his descendants*. In this short form, the enactment clause (ἔδοξε Συβριτίων τῇ πόλει) is no longer required, and the substance of the decree that was passed (τὸν δεῖνα πρόξενον ... ἔμεν κτλ.) is abbreviated as *πρόξενος Συβριτίων*, or simply *πρόξενος*, as in no. 4 above<sup>10</sup>. There the genitive *Συβριτίων* is not inscribed due to lack of space, but it would have been readily understandable whose *proxenoi* the Mytilenaeans were, since the inscription was engraved on a metope of a public building, below another honorary award of *proxenia*, and most probably flanked by more texts of this kind.

What is noteworthy is the way the texts are inscribed on the metopes, a fact which raises a number of questions that are difficult to answer<sup>11</sup>. One metope is uninscribed, a second one is inscribed with only one letter, and two metopes are engraved with two texts on each. Moreover, the text of all the honorary awards differs in length by one, two or three words at the most. What was the reason for engraving on one metope one or two texts, although vacant metopes were available? Is the placement of an honorary award of any significance? Does it imply some additional honor for the person receiving

9. Respectively IC, II, iii, 6-7, 8A and B, 11, 13-15; IC, IV, 202-228; and Tzifopoulos 2007, no. 1.

10. For the standard form of a decree by a Greek polis or *koinon* see Rhodes & Lewis 1997, 4-6. This is a common abbreviation in Crete and elsewhere for which see Marek 1984, 311-312. Not all decrees of the Sybritians were abbreviated, as the asylia decree with Teos (IC, II, xxvi, 1) and another unpublished inscription indicate (Tzifopoulos forthcoming). Rhodes & Lewis (1997, 299-313) provide a helpful overview of the various decrees passed by Cretan poleis; for the Cretan proxeny awards in particular see Marek 1984, 311-331.

11. See the cogent remarks by Rhodes & Lewis 1997, 6-7.

the *proxenia*? Should the individuals in nos. 5-8 and perhaps 10 be considered more important to the city than the ones in nos. 1-4, where two texts were inscribed on the same metope? Or is it simply a matter of visibility, which dictated that the texts be engraved on the metopes of the building's most visible façade, as one approached it? Did these metopes and triglyphs belong to a public building or a temple<sup>12</sup>?

Finally the individuals honored present a geographical distribution that is interesting in terms of the outside relations and civic life of late Hellenistic Sybritos. Five of the eleven individuals received *proxenia* for their services, as their occupation is inscribed on the stone. Two are artists, the Argive comic actor Ptolemaios son of Demetrios (no. 8)<sup>13</sup>, and the actor performing Roman 'plays', most probably pantomimes (*rhomaīst̄es*)<sup>14</sup>, Agathodoros son of Straton from Sidon in the coast of Pamphylia, or the one in Phoenicia (no. 7). And three are soldiers or military personnel from Carian cities, who, in addition to *proxenia*, also received citizenship (*πολίτης*): the *hegemon*<sup>15</sup> Meleagros son of Artemidoros from Alabanda (no. 3), and two from Stratonikeia, the *hegemon* Hierokles son of Menoitos son of Iatrokles (no. 5), and Ar.[.ca.6-8.], son of [Me]han[dros] (no. 6), most probably also a soldier. Christian Marek has argued convincingly that in Crete *proxenia* was dictated primarily by matters military/political, as soldiers, doctors and political exiles receive *proxenia* and often also citizenship, but also by occasions arising from matters of entertainment, as artists become *proxenoi* for their services<sup>16</sup>. The three awards honoring soldiers from cities in Asia Minor, two of them commanders, or perhaps *xenologoi* of the Ptolemies as Angelos Chaniotis has suggested<sup>17</sup>, indicate that in late Hellenistic Sybritos military/political matters were crucial to the city, matters which should probably be related with the unrest among

12. For Hellenistic remains on top of and around the Kefala hill see Karamaliki forthcoming. For Hermes' *hieron* built in 88-90 CE see Baldwin Bowsky 2001 (SEG, 51, 1180). Perlman (2004b) rightly argues that the manner in which the laws were inscribed on the walls of temples in archaic and classical Crete bespeaks the masons' particular care for the viewer/reader.

13. Stephanis 1988, 378, no. 2165 (index pp. 561-564 for the known actors of comedy).

14. Stephanis 1988, 20 no. 21 (index, p. 591 only four known *rhomaīstai*); in 169 BC a ῥωμαῖστής 'Αγαθόδωρος performed in Delos (IG, XI, 2, 133, line 81); for *rhomaīst̄es* see Aneziri 2003, 209, n. 37 with previous bibliography, and Louis Robert's extensive remarks in BE, 1983, 475.

15. Petropoulou 1985, 34 (but I doubt that these individuals were honored on account of piratical activities they shared with the Sybritians) and especially 214-215 n. 85 on *hegemones* of the Seleucids, Attalids and Ptolemies; and Kreuter 1992 for Cretan cities' relations with the Hellenistic kingdoms.

16. Marek 1984, 314-331. For a social and cultural overview of war in the Hellenistic World see Chaniotis 2005, especially 78-101 for war as a profession.

17. Personal communication; see also Chaniotis 2005, 82-84 for the recruitment process of mercenaries.

Cretan cities from the late third to the middle of the second centuries BC<sup>18</sup>. Whether the two *hegemones* recruited Sybritians, on account of which the city honored them, or the Sybritians offered them *politeia* in order to enfranchise them – as did the city of Kydonia (IC, II, x, 1) who bought land for a group of *proxenoi* to settle, most probably a group of soldiers as Marek has suggested<sup>19</sup> – must remain a conjecture. Whatever prompted this action, it did not prevent the Sybritians from enjoying the opportunity to be entertained when an artist was nearby and visited the city, as the *proxenia* awarded to the comic actor and the *rhomaiastes* indicate.

The reasons for honoring with *proxenia* the remaining six individuals can only be guessed at. The Gortynian Philon son of Sotadas (no. 1), the only Cretan of the group, may have been honored during the years following the treaty between Gortyn and Sybritos<sup>20</sup>. But information is lacking for the Epidaurians Aphthonetos son of Sotimidas and his two sons Sotimidas and Kleomachos (no. 2), and the Mytileneans Diodotos son of Dioskourides, and Poseidaios son of Diphilos (no. 4). If these *proxenoi* from Epidauros and Mytilene, for whom the text offers no indication of their occupation or status, were not soldiers (or less likely artists), then they may have received *proxenia* as political exiles or traders<sup>21</sup>.

Be that as it may, these honorary awards of *proxenia* and *politeia* to eleven individuals by Sybritos, Crete highlight in a most rewarding way the fact that the epigraphical survey of the Rethymno Prefecture and the creation of the Archive of inscriptions was an indispensable and worthwhile effort. Two more texts, even if fragmentary, are added, and all ten inscriptions offer interesting glimpses of the political and social concerns and activities of Cretan Sybritos during the late third and the second century BC.

## ONOMASTIKON

’Αγαθόδωρος Στράτωνος Σιδώνιος ῥωμαῖστής (no. 7).

’Αφθόνητος Σωτιμίδα Επιδαύριος (no. 2): LGPN IIIA, 85.

’Αρ.[..... Με]νάν[δρου Στρατο]γικ[εύς] (no. 6).

Διόδοτος Διοσκουρίδου Μυτιληναῖος (no. 4): LGPN I, 134 (140 Διοσκουρίδης).

18. See Chaniotis 1996, 29-56.

19. Marek 1984, 317-319.

20. See Chaniotis 1996, 270 note 1478; the treaty (in pp. 267-270 no. 32) is dated to the late third or the first half of the second century BCE.

21. Knossos (IC, I, viii, 6, lines 34-35) and Gortyn (IC, IV, 161, lines 10-12) both had a νόμος προξενικός, whose stipulations in Miletos were covered, interestingly enough, by the νόμος ἐμπορικός.

- Τεροκλῆς Μενοίτου τοῦ Ἰατροκλέους Στρατονικεὺς ἡγεμών (no. 5).  
Κλεόμαχος Ἀφθονήτου Ἐπιδαύριος (no. 2): LGPN IIIA, 247.  
Μελέαγρος Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀλαβανδεύς (no. 3).  
Πτολεμαῖος Δημητρίου Ἀργεῖος κωμωδός (no. 8): LGPN IIIA, 379-380.  
Ποσειδαῖος Διφίλου Μυτιληναῖος (no. 4): LGPN I, 382 (141 Διφίλος).  
Σωτιμίδας Ἀφθονήτου Ἐπιδαύριος (no. 2): LGPN IIIA, 419.  
Φύλων Σωτάδα Γορτύνιος (no. 1): LGPN I, 472 (425 Σωτάδας).

## ERRATA

Page 358, Greek text, line 1, Read: Φίλων

Page 360, Greek text, line 4, Read: τυληναῖοι

Page 360, Greek text, line 5, Read: καὶ

Page 360, Read: Lines 3-4: Μιτυληναῖοι is the frequently corrupted form of Μυτιληναῖοι, according to LSJ s.v.

Page 360, second Greek text, line 6, Read: νντίων

Page 362, line 2, Read: Ἀρχ-

Page 362, line 6, Read: Ἀρχ-:

Page 362, line 7, Read: Ἀρτ-:

Page 362, Greek text, line 2, Read: Στράτωνος<sup>νν</sup>

Page 362, Greek text, line 4, Read: ρωμαϊστής,<sup>νν</sup>

Page 363, Lines 3-4, Read: Le Rider κωμωδός.

Page 366, note 14, Read: ρωμαϊστής

Page 369, entry Baldwin Bowksy (2006), Read: "Territorial Reorganization West of Mt. Ida (Crete): From Worry to Worship", in: *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ο Μυλοπόταμος από την αρχαιότητα ως σήμερα: περιβάλλον, αρχαιολογία, ιστορία, λαογραφία, κοινωνιολογία, Πάνορμο Ρεθύμνης, 24-30 Οκτωβρίου 2003*, vol. II: *Αρχαίοι χρόνοι*. Rethymno, 253-275.

Page 374, entry Faraklas et al. 1998, Read: Οι επικράτειες των αρχαίων πόλεων της Κρήτης. Ρίθυμνα 6. *Rethymno*, 75-76.

Page 379, entry Karamaliki, Nota (forthcoming), Read: "Η Σύβριτος κατά τους ελληνιστικούς και ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους: οι πληροφορίες από την πρόσφατη έρευνα", in: *Πεπραγμένα Ι' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Χανιά, 1-8 Οκτωβρίου 2006*, Chania, forthcoming.

Page 391, entry Tzifopoulos (1999), Read: "Παρατηρήσεις σε τέσσερις επιγραφές σπηλαίων του Νομού Ρεθύμνης (IC II.v.37, 38, xxviii.1, SEG xxxvi.808)", *Horos*, 13, 213-224.

Page 391, entry Tzifopoulos (2006a), Read: "The Archive of Inscriptions of the Rethymno Prefecture: Results and Prospects", *Πεπραγμένα Θ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Ελούντα 1-7 Οκτωβρίου 2001*, Heraklio, 207-214.

Page 391, entry Tzifopoulos (2006b), Read: "The Archive of Inscriptions of the Rethymno Prefecture: Results, Prospects and New Discoveries in Axos, Crete", *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ο Μυλοπόταμος από την αρχαιότητα ως σήμερα: περιβάλλον, αρχαιολογία, ιστορία, λαογραφία, κοινωνιολογία, Πάνορμο Ρεθύμνης, 24-30 Οκτωβρίου 2003*, vol. IV: *Ελεύθερνα - Αξός*, Rethymno, 137-145.

Page 391, entry Tzifopoulos (2007), Read: "The Archive of Inscriptions of the Rethymno Nome: Results, Prospects and New Discoveries in Lappa, Crete", in: *XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae, Barcelona, 3-8 September 2002*, Barcelona, 1461-1466.

Page 391, entry Tzifopoulos (forthcoming), Read: "Επιγραφὲς ἀπὸ τὴν Σύβριτο τοῦ Νομοῦ Ρεθύμνης", *Horos*, forthcoming.

Page 391, entry Tzifopoulos, Y.Z. and Nota Karamaliki (forthcoming), Read: "Νέες ἐπιγραφὲς Συβρίτου Νομοῦ Ρεθύμνης", *Horos*, forthcoming.

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